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Part I Research Program and Research Areas

The Research Centre For Development and International Relations (DIR) announces the launching in 1995 of a new research program whose focus will be 'Globalization and Social Change - Structures, Systems and Unidisciplinary Research'. In section one we describe first the intellectual assumptions behind the program, then the structure of the actual program. In the second section the individual researchers' special areas of interest are presented. The third section consists of a summary evaluation of the former research program 1991-1994, list of publications, organization and other activities of DIR.

Introduction

Although the dominating trend in international relations is an increasing globalization of the economy, the reality of everyday life for groups and classes is still very much locally defined. Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and to the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole. Globalization, reglobalization and even deglobalization present the social sciences with, theoretical, methodological and conceptual challenges.

It is the main idea of this program to adopt a unidisciplinary approach, bringing together different strands of disciplines and research areas, which have for some time tried to address these issues, each from their particular point of view. By combining approaches and applying them to selected, specific cases, the limitation of the specialized disciplines can be transcended and a new and broader unidisciplinary approach may be developed, taking the complexity and richness of the contemporary and emerging global reality better into account.

Globalization and Social Change: The Intellectual Problem

The problem of globalization is usually dealt with on different levels, depending upon the specific research focus of the discipline. Some emphasize globalization from a technological point of view, others make the emergence of the world-economy and changes in the international division of labor their main focus of interest, yet another approach is the political one, and a fourth looks upon globalization as mainly a cultural issue.

Looking upon these different approaches, it is possible, though, to discern a common challenge to all of them, namely the need to take into account the global and the local contexts simultaneously. But to accomplish this, one has to rethink and transcend the disciplinary barriers. In order to understand any given thematic problem in international relations, say development, ethnic conflicts or the role of social movements, rich descriptions are needed covering most aspects of globality in the given field of study. Such an unidisciplinary approach is difficult if not impossible, unless it is given some kind of overall analytical orientation and structure.

A number of attempts have been made in recent decades to apply intra-societal models to relations between societies. Some of this work was connected to peace-studies (Galtung) and development economics (Polanyi and Myrdal) which later in the 1960s and 1970s gave rise to a number of approaches criticizing the idea of modernization (Frank, Wallerstein, Chase-Dunn, Amin). The challenge is to combine the different levels of analysis and understanding without falling into deconstructionism. Taking this endeavor into consideration, the conceptualization of globalization has to be multifaceted and based on four major aspects. These are *national societies*; *individuals*, or more basically, *selves*; *relationships between national societies*, or *the world system of societies*; and, in the generic sense, *humankind*. (Robertson)

Figure 1

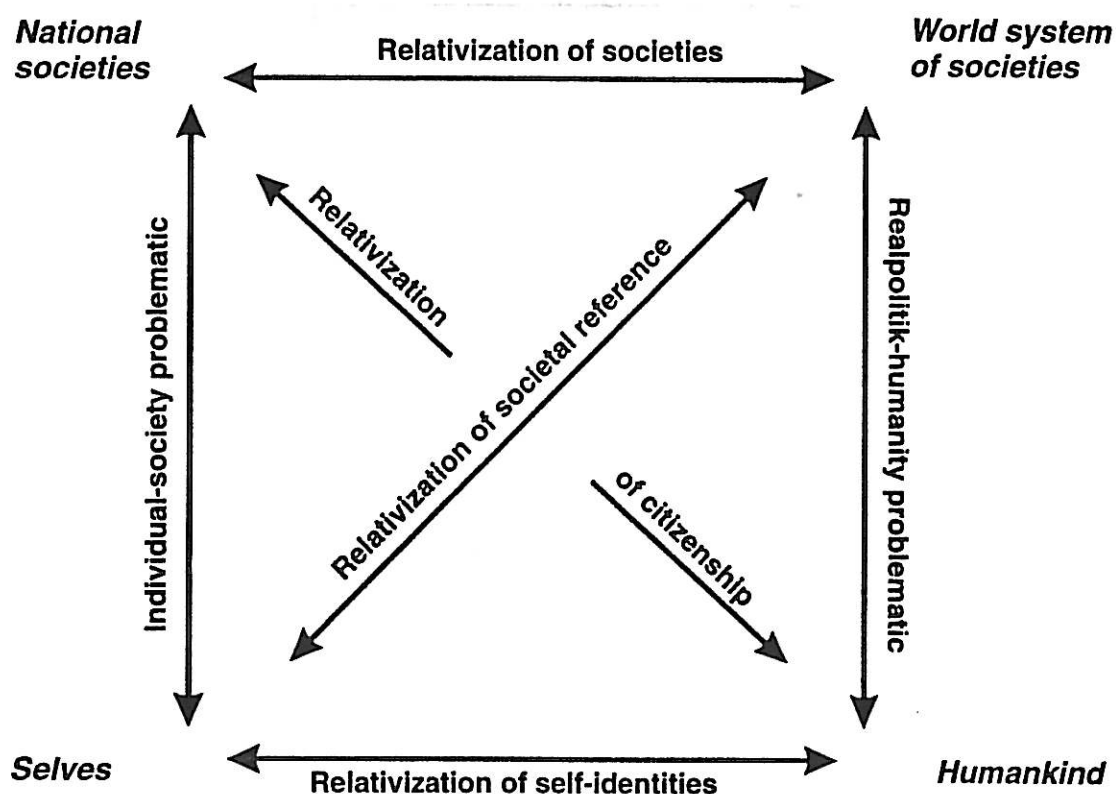


Figure 1 illuminates the definition of how the world is ordered or disordered. This model of globalization facilitates the interpretation and analysis of variation and denotes a certain flexibility in terms of processes of relativization and takes into account (social) change in each of the four major components (societies, individuals, international relations, and humankind) in tandem with shifts in relations between them. Relativization, thus, indicates that processes of differentiation increase over time.

Globalization refers to the coming into, often problematic, conjunction or comparative interaction of different forms of life. This cannot be accurately captured in the simple proposition that globalization is a consequence of modernity. (Giddens) Present concern with globality and globalization cannot be comprehensively considered simply as an aspect of the Western 'project' of modernity or enlightenment. In an increasingly globalized world there is a heightening of civilizational, societal, ethnic, regional and individual, self-consciousness. There are constraints on social entities to locate themselves within world history and the global future. Yet globalization in and of itself also involves the diffusion of the *expectation* of such identity declarations.

This model opens the way to the discussion and study of the ways in which the general pattern is caused historically to prevail. It also allows for different, indeed conflicting, empirical emphases within the field of global complexity. However, the tendency to globalization is never complete, and there is nothing inevitable about its continuation. (Cox)

In order to avoid determinism it is necessary to 'bring back' the social dimension. Societal change, here defined as a result of a particular kind of social action influences the space of international actors (states). Such a conceptualization demands that international actors and institutions be taken into consideration while not dismissing societal processes at different level.

At a time when social relations are increasingly subordinated to the market, the inevitable self-protection of society against the commodification of life - Karl Polanyi's 'double movement' - is continuously being undermined, and brings forth different forms of resistance and disorganizations in various directions.

Whether social change is international or not, can not be decided a priori. Processes which manifest themselves into a political form influencing the international climate can thus come into consideration of the analysis.

The unidisciplinary study of globalization and social change consists of a focus on institutions and actors at the systemic and structural level. Social change is manifestly influenced both by global, regional and local factors. Globalization both result in and is influenced by changes in the international division of labor. Thus, a unidisciplinary approach transcends previous disciplinary borders.



A number of general theoretical approaches illuminates the main theme of globalization and social change: World systems theory (Wallerstein), Hegemonic decline theory (Kennedy, Reich), Transnationalism theory (Bamyeh), Global field theory (Robertson), Theory of communicative action (Habermas), Structuration theory (Giddens), Theories of chaos, autopoiesis, catastrophe (Prigione, Bolz)

While the first four theories take a structural point of departure in the study of international relations, focusing upon the global context of international action, the theories of Habermas and Giddens introduce sociologically other ways of conceptualizing macro- and micro phenomena simultaneously. Habermas' theory of communicative action is of a more general kind, making the significant distinction between rationality oriented action in the 'system-

world' and action oriented towards meaningful communication for its own sake in the 'life-world'. Giddens has recently applied his theory of structuration to the interrelation between identity-formation on the individual level and in the inter-personal sphere which are components of civil society and influences on the global level.

The theories of chaos, autopoiesis and catastrophe are introduced in order to conceptualize the dimension of 'emergence' when we are discussing both the political and economic tendencies on the global level and their interaction with social and cultural changes in the regional, state and local context.

In order to combine the different approaches and problematics discussed until now it is important to establish a methodological frame of reference.

Methodological Considerations

What is considered today as the various 'disciplines' in the social sciences were all created, or at least institutionalized, in the second half of the nineteenth century as a 'buffer' between humanities and sciences. The world was divided into three assertedly autonomous arenas of action: the economic, the political and the socio-cultural. The economic was thought to be centered around the market and the political around the state. The socio-cultural, consequently, included everything that did not fall under the first two rubrics, and was in this sense a residual category.

After the Second World War, the institutionalized separation of the social science 'disciplines' encountered a feeling of growing unease. One reaction was the call for multidisciplinary or interdisciplinarity. The concept reflected a need to approach intellectual problems by the combined work of multiple scholars, each approaching the problem from the perspective of a different discipline. This idea has come to be more and more in vogue. The second concept was area-studies which involved the multidisciplinary study of a 'region' of the world, with an emphasis on linguistic knowledge.

Obviously, these developments had the effect of questioning the sharp compartmentalization of the social sciences that had seemed a solid reality for a century. But they have done so within the framework of multi- or inter-disciplinarity, and this rubric, while synthesizing in spirit, also reinforced in fact the so-called disciplines. For if one is called upon to bring

together many disciplines, one is led to believe that each discipline has something different to say. In this manner, the disciplinary distinctions were relegitimized. The consequence has been a sort of massive worldwide drifting, in which more and more scholars feel dismayed at the state of the social sciences, but very little is being done collectively to change the situation.

Today, there is no longer a basic consensus. The fact that critics of the old scheme have been more effective in their negation than in proposing a viable alternative epistemology and methodology for a reorganized and reunified single discipline reflects the need for a new conceptualization and approach. Unidisciplinary research rests on the basic assumption that what is needed is somehow to create a unidisciplinary architecture that includes and expands the problematics and methodologies of the various separate disciplines.' This construct constitutes an extension and a refocusing of social theory aiming to transcend the limitation of the conditions of its own maturation in the so-called classical period of the disciplines.

Attempting to resolve this challenge is no easy task. The guiding principle of the various research areas in this program have in the common change as the motivating inspiration. The dynamics of transformation affect all levels of human activities and social relations.

This research program represents three main research fields, which all belong to the area of 'international relations' and which at the same time seem particularly relevant to the problem of globalization and social change:

- Peace and Security in the Post Cold War Era
- International Political Economy, Crisis and Transformation
- Gender and Ethnicity: Civil Society Revisited

Research Area A

Peace and Security in the Post Cold War Era

The end of the Cold War in a number of respects signals a search for paradigmatic change in the field of peace and security. The Cold War created a high degree of predictability in

international affairs while withdrawing attention from perhaps more profound, potential conflicts. With capitalism as the only remaining international system, security policy will have to be discussed not exclusively, but at least to a large extent as a function of mechanisms in the world system as such.

To establish a perception of significant challenges to security policy, it is necessary not only to comprehend the destabilizing tendencies at work, but to undertake an effort of clarification in connection with conflicting theories and interpretations. In other words, establishing a theoretical framework to describe the security problematique as a basis for a discussion of alternative options.

It is in the area of peace and security that the problem of the simultaneous effects of globalization and social change are perhaps the most visible. Global and local contexts interweave in a highly subtle manner. Problems arising from the process of transnationalization are primarily dealt with as 'national' or 'international' issues.

On another level, local conflicts are increasingly taken up by the international community. Conceived as 'local' they are, nevertheless, treated as global. There is, indeed, a clear cultural divide between how a conflict may be interpreted by the outside world and how it is interpreted by the warring parties. An example is the growing emergence of ethnic conflicts, often arising or made manifest by the effects of global change. Here the traditional concepts based on structures and international actors could be useful but insufficient. In trying to conceptualize such problems, the local reality of ethnic and cultural conflicts and interaction with ideology, resources and power relations may be taken into account.

Among the destabilizing factors in the process of globalization are 'international' trade relations with their interaction between global and local interests. Two different solutions both of which are conflictual, namely free trade on the one hand and economic nationalism on the other, illustrate the impasse and the need for new conceptualizations.

According to the traditional disciplinary divisions, security issues are often discussed as if they had little or nothing to do with economic system or trade arrangements. Even empirically this makes little sense, as economics, policy, trade, and security to some extent constitute a totality. As a partial consequence of the separation of political and social science, international relations theory and economics within the academy, our theoretical understanding of the interrelationship and contradictions between national interest, regional blocs and geopolitics is insufficiently developed.

A similar point can be made for research on ethnic conflicts. It has for a long time been carried out as a discipline separate from international relations. Here too the unidisciplinary approach, combining the study of international factors with the study of ethnic conflicts might improve our understanding of the basic problem.

Again, in order to avoid a one-sided approach, a globalization perspective with a Western flavour should be combined with other world-views emerging from regions where the concepts and methodological perspectives in social science do not necessarily coincide with Western ethnocentrism.

A case in point is East Asia which is increasingly moving into an independent position in the post Cold War period. Partly, this is based on the confidence of growing economic strength, partly it may be seen as a defensive action, as the earlier foreign policy of the US providing protection and security in the area is gradually abandoned, forcing East Asia to rethink its position.

How do the East Asian countries cope with this new challenge? One possibility currently under consideration is to opt for greater regional economic integration. A major problem is here the memory of Japanese WW II hegemony, which still functions as a restraint on regional cooperation. Another unresolved issue is what consequences the tremendously high economic growth of China and its emergence as a major industrial and military power may have in this context?

Thus, a scenario that will have to be explored is the upcoming of a new global economic centre in the Asia-Pacific. Will the end of the 'American century' lead to a definite decline of US hegemonic power and what will replace it? What are the prospects of the uncertainties of an increasingly integrated and enlarged Europe in political and economic terms? And how will its relationship to its main competitor, the new economic power centre in East Asia affect the international order? Will the decline of American supremacy and the emergence of new mega-centers in the global political economy lead to disorder and chaos?

The cluster concerning Peace and Security in the Post Cold War Era is divided into the following research projects:

European Security: Constraints and Possibilities - Focusing on the changes in regional Europe, and the strength and weakness of three alternative process scenarios: 1) Macro-regional neomercantilism, 2) Macro-regional delinking, and

3) A mixture of delinking and selfreliance.

Intervention, Ethnicity and Co-existence - Focusing on the effects of international intervention in ethnic conflicts and providing links to a deeper understanding of the factors leading to conflict versus co-operation among ethnic groups in Europe, the former Soviet Union and the Middle East.

Reinventing US Foreign Policy - Focusing on the new complexities of American Foreign Policy in the post Cold War period.

ASEAN and the New Regional Order - Focusing on the geopolitical relationship to trade and investment policies in Southeast Asia and the East Asian region as well as the background for the Indochinese states' application for membership of ASEAN.

The Middle East Between Agony and Progress: Towards a New Palestine

- Focusing on economic and political models in Israel and the Occupied Territories during the transition period, in a regional as well as international perspective.



Research Area B

International Political Economy, Crisis and Transformation

Many of the structural changes presently unfolding in the world economy are connected to the globalization and transnationalization of finance as well as the remarkably rapid shifts in the international division of labor. While the process of internationalization has been with us for centuries, new technologies, competitive pressures and historical contingencies are intensifying and altering the form of internationalizing practices. These changes suggest profound ambiguities in political life. (Rosow)

The question is: what are the conceptual effects of these changes in the international political economy? The growing tension between a global and an international economy requires new intellectual efforts. Critical theories must increasingly question the concepts and language of the prevailing discourse in the light of the new practices.

The new forms of capitalist operation in the global economy make the conception of the world as divided into national economies (inside) and the world economy (outside) inadequate. The world economy is as much 'inside' the national economy as 'outside', if these distinctions continue to make much sense at all. This has ramifications on different levels. Problem solutions are no longer just a matter of managerial skills in administering the national economies. For the list of effects of transnationalization ('erosion of power to relieve unemployment, revive economic growth, restore prosperity, and encourage investment in the future' (Strange)) include the failure of the ideology of growth and productivity itself. The erosion of the geo-economic frame of the world economy generates a legitimation crisis for modern states. In other words, the entire territorial imagery of the current international political economy has been rendered ambiguous. (Rosow) This notwithstanding, we see on the regional level a tendency towards economic nationalism which translates into neo-mercantilist trading blocs. At the same time, within the national framework, tensions between the centre and the local areas as well as efforts to decentralise the development are observed.

The neo-liberal revolution which has swept the world in the 1980s and 1990s, consummating its victory with the collapse of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, has its main advocates in Western countries and international development agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF. The wisdom of this model is, however, challenged by the astounding success of the authoritarian neomercantilist East Asian 'export-oriented' growth-

models. This phenomenon raises a number of seemingly contradictory questions to theory as well as policy.

The restructuring of global capital in the 1980s and 1990s is a transnational phenomenon rather than a series of unrelated national developments. (Overbeck) The rise of financial capital has produced a new form of control mechanism which has created a setback for state intervention and limited the state's room of manoeuvre. However, the transnationalization of capitalism in the past two decades has produced at least two different kinds of national or regional capitalism: As mentioned above it is neo-liberalism in the West - the Occidental version - and a so far less specified capitalism in East Asia, perhaps neo-mercantilist: the Oriental version.

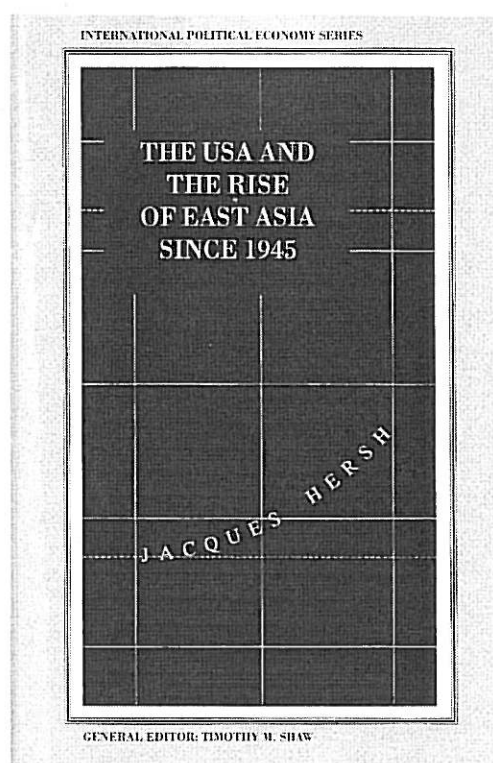
One interesting question is whether political authoritarianism is a precondition for economic development. The current changes in Eastern Europe and East Asia provide a clear opportunity to analyze the issues involved. A problem in the earlier debate on economic efficiency versus political democratization was the scarcity of developing democracies, in the Western sense, to choose among. Partly for this reason the analysis concerned other variables than the political regime dimension (for instance the quality of government which is quite a different thing).

Secondly the new aspirants to democracy arose out of failed attempts to increase economic efficiency, but have so far had few successes in the economic field. To disentangle this ambiguous evidence constitutes an important analytical challenge, which may at the same time give new inputs to a previously unsolved problem in development theory which has now turned into a paradox: If it is generally true that authoritarian regimes are better suited to promote development than democratic regimes, why did communism collapse? If on the contrary democratic regimes, as liberal thinking suggests, are always more efficient in promoting development than authoritarian regimes, why have the East Asian regimes fared much better than Eastern Europe?

As a related issue a revised Western ideology recently entered the international community and has led to a contested debate in interstate relations and world discourse. This is the question of regime-form and the political role of the state. The United States and Western Europe increasingly emphasize democracy, human rights and the new (old) academic theorem 'civil society' in their foreign policies. But their promotion by all countries will by necessity be selective, even cynical, and concern for nonstate forces by other states will always be balanced against other national interests. Democracy is increasingly used as a weapon of conditionality sometimes combined with sanctions to make up for backing Western

competitiveness. Nevertheless, the response by East Asian regimes has shifted from Cold War compliance to a post Cold War attitude of an assertive claim for existence of a specific 'East Asian Model'.

East and Southeast Asia are currently enhancing their significance as economic actors on the world scene. The question is whether these countries are now capable of exerting influence on the international politics of democracy, human rights and civil society? Does an explicit East Asian Model exist and what are the interests, values, and cultures of this model? Is it possible to push or coerce the countries of the region to obey the new Western policy, implying a loss of their competitive advantage in cheap labor and repressive state authoritarianism?



Strengthening a state's position and bargaining capacity in the international division of labor if successful, increases the relative average wealth of the society in question. On the other hand rapid economic growth brings with it a host of social, ecological, cultural and political problems. This set of problems is especially relevant for states which seek to imitate the 'miracle' of other states.

One way to approach this phenomenon is to compare two versions of the problem. One is the Vietnamese, seeking to copy the Thai 'Miracle'. The other is the attempt of the East Germans to 'ride upon the wave' of the West German miracle. Although the two cases are unlike each other, there are areas of similarity which it might be well worth to pursue. The ecological dimension is present in

both cases as are social and economic problems, basically related to the very choice of developmentalism.

However, the attraction of the successful development models is global. Even in Africa at the bottom-line of the universal scale, Uganda e.g. which just a decade ago was totally outside the international community, is now debating how to become an African 'Tiger' (or rather a lion, since there are no tigers in Africa).

Successful transformations create problems. But so do unsuccessful ones. Hence the more general problem of local development in a global context. Although the secrets of overcoming the 'global' obstacles might be decoded, the 'local' obstacles to entering the 'club' of successful contenders, might be overwhelming. Such obstacles may be of a legal, economic, political, educational or broadly 'institutional' kind. But the obstacles might also be rooted in the thinking habits of people, in certain inherited customs, traditions and relationships which do not change over night.

Moreover, whether the objective is a 'catching-up' perspective or the maintenance of competitive power in a highly competitive world system, a certain self-defeating mechanism may be observed. While such aspirations may be fulfilled for some countries for a certain period, it is questionable that they may be fulfilled for all countries all the time.

Furthermore, the tensions and interactions between the three levels of the international context, the national framework and the local area or community are presently drastically increasing. Interventions e.g. from the international level (other national or international administrations) directly to local areas within another nation will be more frequent. On the other hand, a more diversified local development, not following the prevailing international or national models, might also be seen, e.g. in relation to the political or economic systems.

Most theories of transformation tend to focus upon the institutional factors, forgetting the latter, pre-institutional elements, which may in reality have a larger impact on the general quality of life and the human ability to face change than purely 'sociological' factors.

A particularly relevant case for studying the importance of such pre-institutional factors, is Russia. The question is whether traditional sociological explanations, focusing upon the nature of institutions is an adequate framework for analysis in this case.

The problem is challenging, as most international action and thinking since the collapse of communism, has been directed towards Russia. There are clear signs that a few of the Eastern European regimes are rebounding after some lean years. Here radical institutional changes begin to show some tangible effects. This is far from the case in Russia, and one possible explanation could be that institutional intervention is inadequate. Other factors, more locally rooted, might be decisive in this particular case.

Research in cluster B: International Political Economy, Crisis and Transformation is primarily concerned with the comparative models of transition in Eastern Europe and East Asia and the

interventions in the development process. The research projects are divided into the following:

East Europe: Between Western Europe and East Asia - Focusing on the relevance of the 'East Asian Model' in the former planned economies.

Comparing Contemporary Models of Interaction Between Capitalism and Social Forces - Focusing on the question whether a new different form of capitalism is emerging in East Asia and the possible implications for the rest of the world.

The Yin and Yang Behind Asian-Pacific Integration - Focusing on the relationship between China's economic role in the region and prospects for increasing regional integration.

What should the Vietnamese Learn From the Thai 'Miracle'? And What to Avoid - Focusing on Thailand's experience with high growth over several decades and the major determinants behind economic policy-making. Compares this experience and discusses its relevance for Vietnam.

The Social Planning Approach: Modernity, Autopoiesis and the East German 'Sonderweg' - Focusing on institutional and social change in the former East Germany after unification with Western Germany.

Socialist Transformation and Social Change in Eastern Europe and East Asia - Focusing on comparative institutional aspects of economic policy-making in socialist transition-economies.

Monitoring the Development Intervention: Focusing on the impact and effect monitoring of the development activities, primarily of Danish experiences, but seen in an international and local perspective (case-studies from Africa and Asia).

Decentralisation of Local Development in Africa and Asia: Focusing on implementation of decentralisation of political, economic and institutional powers and resources, and the interactions between the international, national and local interactions in this process.



Research Area C

Gender and Ethnicity: Civil Society Revisited

Whether development is conceived as a replication of the Western model or somewhat differently, there is a growing sense that its very success might in the end lead to its eventual demise. One example is the foreseeable exhaustion of some non-renewable materials essential to growth-oriented economies. This factor alone implies a necessary reorientation of most societies: Not least the highly industrial ones. (EU Commission, White Paper) In a transnational world, such a reorientation is hardly to be expected from either the state or the market. The question is whether the different pressures of globalization may bring forth new potentialities for alternative theory and practice this time emerging from civil society itself.

If globalization is causing unprecedented wealth in some areas, the same process is creating

havoc on many levels of human existence: It undermines previous economic structures, subsistence cultures, value systems, and weakens civil society. These processes are of course far from one-dimensional but influenced by specific local conditions.

One of the effects has been an almost global trend towards urban concentration caused by migration, usually from the countryside. To some extent the refugee problem, a cause for international concern, may be considered only the top of an 'iceberg' of several hundred million internal migrants or social outcasts uprooted by processes of development, sometimes exacerbated by conflict. The severity of disruption (whether of a physical or ideological nature) often goes hand in hand with a struggle for existence. This creates a pressure to find new modes of survival. Not only in the form of organizing for basic material subsistence. There is a search for new cultural contexts, values and identities to provide frameworks, meaning and orientation in a chaotic world. This 'labor of searching' (Ziehe) is going on in the urban slums of the Third World and in the large inner cities of the U.S. and Europe (East and West) and takes on different forms. Often the interaction of ethnicity and gender in an intricate manner influences the outcome of these processes. The fact that many communities are experiencing a rapid transition from a relatively homogeneous to a multi-ethnic society gives added impetus to the drive for self-definition and reassertion of traditional value systems. The same, although in a different manner, applies to the rapidly changing organization of gender.

A study of these processes may provide us with new knowledge of the inner dynamics of existing as well as future social movements in urban areas.

As mentioned, civil society in the highly industrial societies is under mounting pressure. The phenomenon is far from new. Since the beginning of this century scholars of different disciplines have pointed to the existence of duplicity in modern culture. (Mach, Buber, Tönnies). Modern gender studies consistently demonstrate the existence of divisions between the public and private spheres, symbolically defined by gender. In later years, Jürgen Habermas gained influence through his description of what he calls the 'colonization' of the life world by the system world. Transcending the duality-perspective, the anthropological theory of praxis (Bourdieu) is presently leading to more refined conceptualizations of everyday life.

In many societies, the present crisis assumes the form of a crisis of the state as well as of the market. Most conspicuous in the form of growing unemployment, social polarization and the so-called fiscal crisis of the state. This situation has drawn attention to the potentialities for alternative solutions embedded in civil society. The interest for civil society is diverse. In

recent years there has been almost global endeavors to integrate the last islands of subsistence culture (including women) into the formal economy, or fencing in a growing, uncontrollable informal sector brought about by the threat to subsistence in many societies. Another aspect is the emergence of new counter cultures and social movements based on the rationality of human networks and close human relations.

In modern society, the latter trends take on new significance and implications, one of which being the attitude to both the state and the market, transcending the ruling ideologies of socialism and liberalism - sometimes combining aspects of both. The modern world is a world of rapid transformation. It is also one of enormous social problems, technological threat and ecological disaster. The conditions of modern mass society tend to reduce civil society to a state of conformity and apathy. Vibrant counter cultures challenge this state of affairs. Alternative values, forms of rationality, a new awareness of the relationship between theory and practice, between man and nature are giving rise to the formulation of new social projects.



The cluster concerning Gender and Ethnicity: Civil Society Revisited is divided into the following projects:

Sustainable Priorities - The Case of Double Rationality - Focusing on the hidden rationality of close human relations by identifying common value systems capable of uniting people for change and alternative solutions based on every-day practice.

Gender and Social Movements - Focusing on a critique of the rationality of science. Further, the project considers migration and rise of social movements in urban contexts and the role of gender.

The Fisherfolk Community of the Riverine and Coastal Areas of Bangladesh and India - Focusing on the socio-economic conditions and the history of fisherfolk communities who inhabit the coastal and riverine areas of the Bay of Bengal.

Rationality, Nationalism and Migration in Europe - Focusing on the rise of totalitarianism in Europe and its relationship with non-European minorities.



ISIS Distinguished Fellow and Director-General of the Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations Dato' Albert Talalla at the October 8 dinner with Mr Johannes Schmidt of Aalborg University, Denmark, ISIS Deputy Director-General Encik Jawhar Hassan, and BBC's Mr Jacques Bekaert.

Part II Research Projects

Ref. A. Peace and Security in the Post Cold War Era

European Security: Constraints and Possibilities (JH)

Faced with epochal changes in the world, all societies are in a process of transformation involving the local, the national, the regional and the international levels. Part of this evolution has been the adoption by nearly all countries of the capitalist system. This poses some serious questions as to world capitalism's ability to fulfil the expectations which have been raised.

Although this research project is not directed at ecological considerations it is undeniable that the question of the environment and natural resources will impose itself on all societies, i.e. those undergoing societal transformation as well as those striving to maintain stability. 'The revolution of rising expectations' which became part of the ideological consciousness in the Western world after World War II has been affecting socio-economic formations on all continents.

Anticipation of an ever increasing material standard of living accompanied by the social security network implied by the welfare state neutralized contradictions and strengthened the social contract in the highly industrialized countries. This became the model for the Third World nations. Likewise the so-called socialist countries attempted to emulate Western materialism and consumerism.

In East Asia, the successful export-led industrialization under authoritarian regimes contributed to an uneasy historic compromise. The nexus to the world economy were extensive and beneficial in terms of economic growth.

Labor intensive production and a low cost labor force were the entry passwords to the international division of labor. At that time the industrialized economies were interested in cheap goods in order to hold down inflationary tendencies and expand the sphere of foreign investment. Not to be forgotten was the motivation of competing with the Asian socialist regimes who in the 1950s and 1960s had shown rather high economic results. The strong East Asian capitalist state performed the role of enforcing social peace and giving a technocratic elite leeway in guiding the economy and protecting itself from negative external influences.

The foundation of this compact between the state and civil society was the prospect of improvement in material standards of living as well as a slow political liberalization. Social movements under the conditions which led to what has been called the 'East Asian miracle' were defensive in the face of political subjugation by the maximalist capitalist state and the economic dislocations caused by the market.

In the former Soviet-type states, which did not leave space for a private sector, authoritarianism while guaranteeing a high degree of social security was unable to compare favourably with industrialized capitalist societies on other parameters. Thus underproduction and waste resulted in individual underconsumption and a deficit of democracy -- as defined by the West. Social movements in these societies were mostly concerned with increasing the space for economic activities with individual initiatives creating the basis for a parallel economy. While corruption existed with an uneven distribution of benefits, the system nevertheless accommodated the basic needs of most social groups. The policy of peaceful coexistence and economic intercourse with the outside world opened the window to a comparison with advanced capitalist countries as well as with the success stories of East Asia.

Ideologically, this unfavourable juxtaposition served to weaken the project of state socialism within the political class and intellectuals opening up for the demand for reforms. In the advanced capitalist economies the high growth rates of the two decades after the Second World War have since the 1970s been replaced by a secular stagnation trend. In the course of this period, the interdependence between highly developed economies has evolved toward disharmony and regionalization of the world economy. The 1980s saw the predominance of market liberalization at the expense of state control and regulation. At the same time there has been a shift in the correlation of forces within the category of capital with a strengthening of finance capital at the expense of productive capital. In the 1990s, however, there seems to be a noticeable shift to the activization of the state in the competition for markets with the other exporting nations. This is especially accentuated as the neomercantilism of the Clinton administration aims at gaining greater market shares for American exports. Hence, the tensions with the allies: the European Union and especially Japan, but also with low cost producers.

US economic policy presently focuses on the implementation of a strategy of strengthening American productive capital and creating jobs internally without weakening the position of financial capital which is internationalist by nature. The impact of the new unilateralism of the United States on the rest of the world is that all economies will suffer. Since all participants in the entire international system base their economies on export-led growth and competition with regard to attracting investments we are witnessing a nul-sum-game scenario

where the gains of some will be at the expense of the others.

Such conditions make for a general continuation of economic stagnation, strengthening the trend toward the regionalization of the world economy and increasing disharmony between the members of the Triad (North America, East Asia and the European Union).

At the national level, the attempt to export as much as possible and attract foreign investment entails a general lowering of the standard of living and/or polarization of society: On the one side a well paid segment of the population and on the other, increasing poverty and marginalization of the weakest social groups. While the concept of a 'revolution of rising expectations' has practically disappeared from the discourse in highly developed economies, aspiration of a better life continues in East Asia. In Eastern Europe, the hopes generated by the meltdown of socialism and the Western promises of assistance in integrating the international division of labor are not being fulfilled. Disillusion is fast becoming a political factor.

In a world economy characterized by overcapacity, the prospects of increasing contradiction on the international plan will translate into social pressures at the national level and give renewed vitality to social movements at the local level.

People will be squeezed by both the state authority and the market imperative. Under these conditions social movements will need to shift from defensive tactics to more offensive strategies with time. Disharmony at the national level will force the authorities to evolve leadership in the attempt to reestablish social stability.

Given the push and pull of the mechanisms of the world economy such a strategy can probably materialise at the regional level. In other words attainment of social stability through changes which take into consideration the international, regional, national and local levels is on the agenda for the next century.

With Europe as the focus for the establishment of an alternative to the course taken by the world economy, it is not only necessary to realize the global destabilizing tendencies at work, but to undertake an effort of clarification of conflicting theories and interpretations. In other words, establishing a theoretical framework to describe the problem Europe is facing as the basis for a discussion of alternative options to the present course of disharmony which interdependence is creating for all members of the international economy. In order to open up the field of alternative visions based on concreteness and transparency of concepts, the

research project presents and discusses three specific alternative process-scenarios for Europe through change founded on variations of economic nationalism and selfreliance. Implementation of a regional variant of selfreliance could project Europe into a model role for other regions of the world economy. Selfreliance has been conceived as a development strategy in a Third World context but in fact belongs to the European heritage. The originality of this research project would be its perspective of selfsufficiency for a highly developed area in order to reduce the destabilizing effects of the world economic system as well as to establish an economic model which would be more in harmony with the ecological system of the planet.

The project is composed of four parts:

1. An examination of the European situation by singling out major destabilizing factors of significance for European security. This will be combined with an analytical confrontation of conflicting theories and interpretations.
2. On this basis attempt to establish a unidisciplinary theoretical frame of reference for discussion of Europe's security problems in the international context. Such an analytical approach is necessary in order to meaningfully discuss possible solutions.
3. The case for selfreliance: A rounding-up analytical discussion of the need for transgressing the dichotomy free trade/economic nationalism as two disruptive models of economic intercourse.
4. A presentation and analysis of the theoretical strength and weakness of three alternative European process-scenarios.
 - A) Macro-regional neomercantilism;
 - B) Macro-regional delinking from the international division of labor;
 - C) Mixture of macro-regional delinking and high degree of micro-regional and local selfreliance

The objective of the study is to establish a frame of reference to understand the mechanisms of socio-economic and political processes of importance to European security. On this basis the project contributes to the creation of necessary values and concepts capable of opening up

a persuasive discourse on alternative European endeavors in favour of peace and security.

Intervention, Ethnicity and Co-existence (FK)

The present reemergence of the ethnic factor in world politics, caught most observers by surprise. Identity, conflicts and atrocities based on ethnicity present themselves not only as a moral problem but as an intellectual challenge as well. It certainly contradicts the 'universalistic' reason that we have inherited from Enlightenment thinking. According to this kind of thinking humanity is basically one and the same. Any attempt to divide it is seen as the antithesis of reason, progress and modernity.

The revival of the ethnic factor on a global scale is a fact of social life. The problem is how it can be coped with. Are ethnic identities and the revival of ethnic awareness in themselves inherently dangerous, something which we should try to eliminate or at least contain? Under what circumstances does ethnicity develop into manifest conflicts and what is it that makes such conflicts so explosive? Why is it that some ethnic groups are able to coexist rather peacefully, while others are constantly at each others' throats, ready to kill unprovoked or for untangible reasons? What is it in the present situation which has called forth the ethnic revival?

The proliferation of ethnic conflicts presents the international community with one of its foremost challenges. The degree of involvement has increased markedly later, but very few interventions have been able to live up to expectations. What is the effect of international intervention on the local level, among ethnic groups who fear, hate, and loath each other? Given the increased activity of the international community in this area and the recent upsurge of ethnicity and ethnic conflicts around the world, there is an urgent need to develop a theory on international peace-making in local conflicts among ethnic groups.



Sociological Papers

Editors: Ernest Krausz and Gitta Tulea

A HOTBED OF HATRED: ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN EASTERN EUROPE

Feiwei Kupferberg

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Such a theory should:

- 1) Analyze the pro et contra arguments for international intervention.
- 2) Acknowledge the 'emotional reality' underlying ethnic conflicts, including elements of abandonment, vulnerability, fears and foibles. Ethnic conflicts have a deeper rationality, which has to be disentangled as a prerequisite for establishing the mutual 'trust' necessary to achieve peace.
- 3) Link the strong emotions of ethnic conflicts to the concept of 'diaspora communities'. These may help us explain the historical roots of present ethnic conflicts. A distinction should be made between different types of diaspora communities (the 'abandoned settlement'- syndrome, loss of citizenship, state-less nations etc.). Awareness of type of conflict and the historical roots is needed to provide a framework for the analysis.
- 4) Analyze what factors promote ethnic cooperation? Why are some ethnic groups able to co-exist in a multi-ethnic environment, while others are not? A theory is needed emphasizing the process of transforming ethnic conflicts into cooperation.

Reinventing US Foreign Policy (FK)

The unexpected end of the cold war, together with the collapse of communism and the Soviet bloc, presented the foreign policy establishment in the US with an awkward dilemma. On the one hand there was the temptation to celebrate the occasion as a final proof of the efficiency of American diplomacy during the post Cold War period. The guiding idea, that peaceful relations among states was dependent upon an ideological consensus on liberal and democratic principles, had been confirmed by the addition of a host of newly arrived 'converts' in Eastern Europe and among the post-Soviet states as well. On the other hand, there were strong reservations towards premature triumphalism (Fukuyama).

There were various reasons to remain cautious. First of all, ideological issues were far from dead and the universal acceptance of the principles of the liberal democratic state still lay in the indefinite future. Some even warned of a coming 'war of civilizations' between adherents of liberal democracy (found mostly among Christian nations) and civilizations hostile to Christian beliefs and values (Huntington).

Secondly, there were ongoing tensions between the former allies (US, Western Europe, Japan) related to the economic field. The costs of containing Soviet expansionism during a forty-years period had been astronomical and left the US, previously the unchallenged economic world power, in a state of disarray (Kennedy). Its competitiveness seriously diminished and the former allies turned out to be rivals. On the other hand, if the US pushed its own economic interests too hard, this would seriously damage the alliance and alter the prevailing power arrangements in an unpredictable way.

US foreign policy thus has to find a formula which can combine a significant strengthening of the US economy with current global rearrangements. Preserving status quo in this respect thus is of vital interest for the US but so are the special interests of pressure groups and the national interest as represented by the federal government.

Thirdly, the amount of unsolved internal problems accumulated over the years (manifested in an explosion of street violence, overfilled prisons, the use of drugs among minors, broken families, the phenomenon of the homeless, a health system out of control etc.). Perhaps the time has come where the US should think less about the American global mission and more about bringing order into its own house (Luttwak). But is it possible again for the US to 'turn inwards'? Who will protect the liberal world order, if America withdraws from its position as hegemon?

The idea of the project is to analyze these new complexities of American foreign policy in the post Cold War period. What are the new dilemmas facing American policy-makers in the foreign policy field and what are the solutions?

The reinterpretation of US foreign policy is very much coloured by the old distinction between a Hobbesian or traditional approach emphasizing 'Realpolitik' and an idealistic Wilsonian approach introducing notions of peace and appealing to the idealism of nations. (Today called the 'human rights' approach).

A working hypothesis of the project is that the realist approach is gaining ground, but that most of the new thinking on foreign policy, takes place in an ongoing dialogue between the 'human rights' approach and the 'national interest' approach. Both are vital for understanding the changing nature of US foreign policy and should be read side by side, to avoid simplification of the complex process of reinventing American foreign policy.

Asean and the New Regional Economic Order in East Asia (JS)

The geopolitical framework in post Cold War East Asia suggests that substantial changes have taken place in the post socialist countries. At a theoretical level, new research on trade, domestic and foreign investment and new economic policies has revealed a whole set of problems connected to the convergence of economic policy-making in a regional group like Asean. The new agreements on facing out tariffs and other trading barriers have been delayed and postponed by protest from domestic coalitions and nationalist sentiment. On the other hand the US military withdrawal from the region challenge the coherence of the regional organizations. Related to this, it is relevant to ask, what are the prospects of Vietnam's, Laos' and Burma's possibilities for membership of Asean! Is it possible and meaningful to expand a sub-regional association where all membercountries are subjected to the same level of high dependency of world market forces and at the same time facing uncertainty as regards the upcoming of new regional powers?



The Middle East Between Agony and Progress: Towards a New Palestine (JS)

A new theory seems to have entered the world of conflict resolution with the Middle East Peace Process entering its post Oslo accord phase - peace didn't break out and an end to the conflict has yet to be resolved. It bespeaks the mystery of how longstanding conflicts are resolved but also why the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation seems intractable. The wide differences in needs and expectations divide the two contracting parties. Israel needs security and stability and the Palestinians need support for a new Palestinian state. This project considers the geostrategic reality by focusing on the balance of forces impinging on the region, the way in which the region relates to external powers, and the configuration of forces within Israel and the Occupied Territories.

Ref. B. International Political Economy, Crisis and Transformation

East Europe: Between Western Europe and East Asia (JH, JS)

From the perspective of the early 1990s there remains an abundance of discord and animosity in international trade and production. The post Cold War situation is characterized by a worldwide intracapitalist rivalry and a new world disorder, where the constraints of ideology have decreased but where the importance of ethnicity and nationalism have increased. Along with a process of disintegration of institutions and bureaucracies, the national economies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union find themselves in a vacuum facing conflicting perspectives and numerous choices.

With the failure of the Soviet-type experiment the virtues of the market model have been adopted with renewed vigour in Western policy circles. Whether the lessons drawn from the command economies can be extrapolated is uncertain. Nevertheless, Eastern Europe is in a transformation process from a well-known structural entity to an undefined construction. This state of transition creates a void with regards to political structures, shifting national identities and issues such as the role of ethnicity, political culture, civil society and the emerging forces of market and state.

This project will examine the directions of the transformation process in the new capitalist economies of Europe from a variety of perspectives. One of the central debates about the

transition is whether change should be gradual, proceeding step-by-step, or whether sudden and immediate change in the form of a 'big-bang' approach (shock-therapy) is preferable. The implications are numerous and call for new empirical and theoretical thinking and research. At the empirical level a number of studies from multilateral institutions and the Western research community point to basic economic problems and at the theoretical level a number of apparent but competing stands of thought might be identified: 1) The neo-classical paradigm based on the assumption that social phenomena can be analyzed as the outcome of interactions between self-serving actors. 2) Neo-institutionalism based on the prescribed remedy to free market forces through the creation or strengthening of market-supporting institutions, so as to reduce the role of the state. 3) Neo-structuralism based on an emphasis on the governed market theory *inter alia* economic growth as the result of a set of state policies. 4) Neo-Keynesianism emphasizing a limited but regulatory role of an interventionist state in order to act as engine for the market. 5) Neo-Marxism pointing to the social character of production relations and the internal and external impact of the international political economy.

Comparing Contemporary Modes of Interaction Between Capitalism and Social Forces (JH, JS)

This project reconsiders the rather incomplete understanding of the East Asian model, by comparing this experience with other political and economic constructs. It poses the question, "Is East Asian capitalism going to be different?" And "What are the implications for the rest of the world?"

It is the contention of this project that the type of capitalism in East Asia is distinct, when compared to Western style capitalism, which itself could be differentiated into several kinds of capitalism. With Berger, one is entitled to speak of the East Asian model and its specific experience as a 'second case' of capitalist modernity. An incomplete list of ingredients of this variant of capitalism which is emerging consists of salient economic features: High economic growth rates, sustained over many years; the remarkable fact that in some of these countries (Taiwan is probably the most important one) high growth has been associated, at least for a while, with a reduction of income inequality; a remarkable improvement in the average material standards of living; a highly active state role in shaping the development process; an underdeveloped welfare state (even in Japan); low tax and high savings rates (two probably interconnected factors); and an economy geared to exports. (While East Asia economies are

capitalist, with the possible exception of Hong Kong they certainly do not adhere to laissez-faire capitalism)

Among the sub-questions this problematic raises are the following: Could it be that East Asia has been successful in generating a non-individualistic version of capitalist modernity? What has been the timing of industrialization and what are the specific state relations with business and other social forces? 'Asianness' could be interpreted as another expression for 'Ersatz' capitalism where 'free riding' in a traditional neo-classical sense is the order of the day. In other words, are we witnessing a generically new construct of maturing capitalism or may the contemporary changes taking place just be considered as a phase along the way to a more traditional well-known specie of capitalism?

The Yin and Yang Behind Asian-Pacific Economic Integration

China's Position Between Regionalization and Internationalization (LX)

Despite twists and turns in Europe and current uncertainties in the US, trends towards economic regionalism in Europe and North America will continue in the 1990s. The greater economic integration of Europe seems inevitable. In North America, faced with the possibly increasing power of European economic integration, the United States, Canada and Mexico established NAFTA (North American Free Trade Area). The transformation of the international political economy and the trends towards regional economic integration seem ultimately irresistible. This will sooner or later change the global economic structure and have a tremendous impact on other parts of the world - especially East Asia.

What are the implications of the increasing trend towards regionalism for Pacific Asia and specially East Asia - a region of increasing economic and political dynamism? Now, economists have their eyes on Pacific Asia waiting to see if a third trade zone will be established. Linked to this, policy-makers and academics have shown a growing interest in prospects for regional integration. The question is whether the trend towards regional trade blocs in Europe and America is pressuring an increasing number of Asia-Pacific countries to act in a similar way. What does economic integration mean to countries in this region? What is the driving force which pushes the Asia-Pacific region towards economic integration and what kind of integration will fit this region? What are the internal factors which influence such a scenario?

For a variety of reasons, the possibilities of real economic integration in the near future of the

Asian-Pacific region are questionable. This project focuses on China, the largest country in the region. It aims at analyzing the power relations between China and the Asian-Pacific region as well as other global actors. What is China's attitude, policies and possible role if regional integration occurs?

1. Theory and method about changes in the post Cold War international political economy and international relations and the rise of regional institutions:

- * This project conceptualizes the changes in the international political economy and international relations under the new global order: i.e. the relationship between domestic and international domains. It studies the motives and underlying factors determining further regional economic cooperation. Are the market forces the key determinant behind regional economic integration? Or is it spurred by fear of the external discriminatory tendency in Europe and North America?
- * The project also considers institutional theories concerning regional economic integration. Institutionalization is an illusive concept in the realm of both theory and practice. Which kind of regional institution is considered proper to cover the overall interests of the countries concerned? Who are the key actors, the institutions, states or non-state agencies?

2. Practical constraints in Asia-Pacific economic integration

- * The notion of 'Asia-Pacific' is more than a geographical word. There is no Pacific community in a linguistic, religious, cultural, political or ideological sense, nor is there much historical evidence of a regional consciousness. Rather, there are longstanding historical antagonisms. The concept of the Asia-Pacific political economy needs further elaboration.
- * Who will be the trusted hegemon in leading the integration process, the US, Japan, China? The decline of US economic power and its troubled relationship with Japan are one obstacle to regional economic integration. Japan, the undisputed economic power of Asia, has not expressed interest in leading the way towards integration even though Japanese investments have rapidly expanded throughout the region.

3. China and regional economic integration

- * China's role in regional economic integration will be explored. If regional integration is driven by market forces, then, the China factor is hypothesized to be the most important factor. In this connection it is important to analyze the history and the political economy of China's economic reforms. However, China's foreign policy and its political uncertainty after Deng Xiaoping, and its fragile relationship with most countries in the region are key political problems for any possible regional economic integration.
- * China has been a country which traditionally saw itself at the center and as the head of a hierarchically-organized world system no matter whether it was strong or weak, rich or poor. In the modern era, China's willingness to learn to accommodate itself as a large power among legally equal nations in a multipolar system will remain an important challenge.



What Should the Vietnamese Learn From the Thai 'Miracle'? And What to Avoid (JS)

With an economic growth rate on 7-9 percent in the last two decades Thailand has been hailed in the international media as East Asia's Fifth Dragon. Thailand has undoubtedly achieved extraordinary success with economic growth at an unprecedented rate but behind the glossy exterior lie a host of problems.

The basis of success in Thailand is extremely weak, tattered and fragile. Businessmen and political leaders have siphoned off enormous fortunes without playing a constructive role in promoting the development of their country. Too many businessmen have been content to sell off their nation's resources - its oil, rubber and tin. Perhaps worst of all, they have profiteered while vast tropical forests have been felled, and are now dangerously close to depletion with no plans for their replacement. Furthermore, the success of Thailand ultimately depends on finance, technology, and management from the outside.

A large number of people still receive only a low level of education and live in poverty. Social problems have exploded with growing inequalities and contradictions between a wealthy but small business elite and the rest of the country.

This project reconsiders the Thai experience in economic policy-making. It claims the existence of three areas of pitfalls and three possible areas of meaningful replication when it comes to the role of state intervention and regulation for Vietnam. The pitfalls to be mentioned are a) environment and ecology, b) social problems like prostitution, AIDS and 3) poverty. On the other hand there are positive aspects, such as 1) the relationship between state bureaucrats and the local businessmen of Chinese origin, 2) the role of political culture and nationalism, 3) the role of pragmatic and conservative non-welfare economic policy-making.

The Social Learning Approach: Modernity, Autopoiesis and the East German 'Sonderweg' (FK)

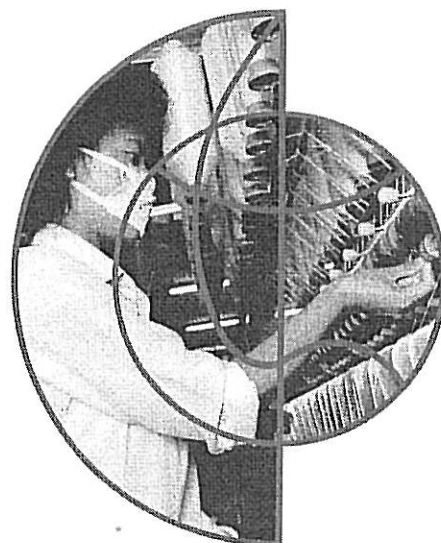
'Systemic change' in Eastern Europe is usually seen as either an 'evolutionary' process, following a universal pattern of 'modernization' or as a 'radical' break with the past (democratic revolution/economic transformation). In this project I argue that a deeper understanding of the systemic changes taking place in Eastern Europe has to combine the two

approaches, taking both the evolutionary and the revolutionary dimensions into account (the social learning approach). Where the evolutionary approach emphasizes the long-term dimensions of social change and stresses the common characteristics of modernity (differentiation, individualization, complementarity, civility, long chains of interdependence) and stresses the common traits of modernizing societies, the revolutionary approach stresses the element of surprise, the lack of models and the unprecedented need for all-round systemic change. The key concepts here is 'autopoiesis' or self-adaptive/ self-organized change.

The need to take both these two dimensions into account, is illustrated through the case of the East German 'Sonderweg'.

The East German 'Sonderweg'

Although it came as a great surprise at the time, the academic community has yet to present a convincing explanation for why communism collapsed unexpectedly and in such a short time. My major hypothesis is that the answer to this can best be studied, if we focus on the East German case (Reissig, 1991), as I believe the 'implosion' of German communism and the GDR in a sense drew the rest of the socialist bloc with it, both for political and economic reasons, but also in an ideological sense. The GDR was the most doctrinaire of the marxist-leninist states, seeing itself as the true heir to the intellectual heritage of Marx and Engels.



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The ideological aftermath of the sudden collapse (Reissig, 1993) is particularly interesting to study, as it gives us a privileged insight into how transformation and modernity are interpreted by the living actors.

From one point of view, East Germany is too special a case to admit generalization. Whereas all other East European countries so to say had to 'repair their ship at open sea' the East Germans were allowed to 'repair it at the dock' (Elster). From another point of view, precisely these unique circumstances makes East Germany a model case in the sense that it helps us

better to locate the more general traits of transformation (Offe, 1994).

Nowhere else has systemic change been imposed so consistently and rapidly as in East Germany (Ash, 1994). Which means that the 'East German Sonderweg' is particularly interesting to study, if one wants to focus upon social learning-processes.

Modernity, System and Actors

The concept of 'Modernity' as it is used by sociologists tend to focus upon the cultural and socio-psychological conditions and consequences for modern, capitalist societies. One of the main points, stressed by the leading English sociologist, Anthony Giddens (1990, 1991), is the close interconnectedness between what is happening on the global, macro level ('system') with trends and developments on the individual, micro level ('actors'). This is a strain of thought going back to Durkheims theory of the inner connection between increased 'individualization' of values and the emerging 'complementarity' of the division of labor in modern, differentiated and complex societies (Durkheim, 1964). The point has been developed by among others the American sociologist Talcott Parson (stressing the particular value-systems of modernity, where particularistic and diffuse emotional ties are replaced by more universalistic and specific ones) and the German sociologist Norbert Elias (1979) who presented the daring hypothesis that the growth of cosmopolitic economic ties and nation-states pursuing internal and external pacification, were dependent upon an almost invisible civilization process in the everyday world (table manners, how we behave in public, the relation between the sexes, how we treat stranger etc.).

It is when we put together this train of thought, social change as modernity (individualization, complementarity, specificity, universalism, civility, 'long chains of interdependence') with the concept of 'autopoiesis', that we can begin to understand the 'deep' structures of the social and economic change taking place in Eastern European societies today.

Autopoiesis

One of the main reasons why Western social scientists failed to predict the imminent collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and still have not been able to present a convincing theory of what transformation is all about, is that the predominant Western theory of social change, 'modernization'-theory is modelled on Western societies and does not take the particular

nature of socialist states into account.

Western societies are mainly characterized by their foundation in a system based on self-organization or what Niklas Luhman calls 'autopoiesis' (Luhmann, 1984, Bolz, 1992). Such a type of organization has turned out to be much more flexible and self-adaptable to the conditions of modernity than the rigidly planned and highly centralized socialist societies. The question is, what makes such societies work? My main assumption is that it is, to a certain degree, the ability to cope with chaos.

Socialist societies were based upon the idea of eliminating chaos altogether. This is also the reason they collapsed unexpectedly. People demonstrating on the streets would never be able to bring down a market-oriented society, which precisely depends on everyone pursuing his ideas and perceived interests in a more or less chaotically organized ways. In the GDR, the mere refusal to obey the orders from the centre, stopped the system from functioning and it collapsed in a surprisingly short time.

The interesting thing is that all those individuals who brought socialism to collapse, believed they were doing something else, asserting their democratic rights as citizens. Few of them had the slightest intention of replacing the system with something totally different. First of all they didn't know precisely what a democracy and a market economy is, how could they as most of them had little direct experience with western-type societies. Secondly, many of the citizens shared not so few of the socialist values, which they had been taught in school. Most of all they liked the idea of a society taking care of its individuals from cradle to grave.

This paternalistic dimension of the state was also the reason why the system denied individual freedom, but who wouldn't prefer to live in the best of possible world, to have total security and total freedom at the same time?

It turned out that it doesn't work this way, but this the citizens of the GDR had to find out for themselves. They had to go through a dramatic, highly difficult social learning process. Living in a particular type of premodern society they knew little of the harsh conditions of modernity.

The Social Learning Approach

A process of transformation cannot be reduced to a question of institutional changes. A far more difficult problem is how to get 'acquainted' with a new and strange system which is so different from one's lived experience. The most ideal learning model, seems to be the 'emigrant', who in entering an 'open' system of 'opportunities' and the need to 'survive', quickly learns to 'assimilate' into the new everyday culture. Such an 'assimilation' learning model cannot be expected in the East German case for various reasons, which should be further looked into:

- 1) In the East German case, modern culture was introduced from the outside, through a massive 'cultural penetration' rather than through the individualistic/voluntary model of emigration. Some observers call this the phenomenon of 'emigrants in their own country'. The learning model is thus not a pure 'assimilative' one, but a subtle combination of 'voluntary choice and willed assimilation' on the one hand and 'colonial exploitation by a technologically superior culture' on the other.
- 2) The effect of separate 'socialization patterns' in the two Germanies, should be investigated. Where the West Germans have been largely influenced by the Western 'liberal democratic' model and have more or less moved beyond to a modern value-system of a partly 'post-materialistic' or 'post-industrial' kind, the question is how the 'belatedness' of modernization in East Germany has influenced the preferred lifestyles, value-system and general outlook of the populations. How different are the 'Ossies' from the 'Wessies' and are these differences increasing or decreasing?
- 3) Among East German sociologists, there has, for some time, been some talk of an 'actor's deficit'. As 'newcomers' in the economic and political system of the Federal Republic, the East Germans have a certain 'social' handicap. The West Germans have had almost all the 'aces' in their hand (economic capital, political influence, networks, experience) but the 'symbolic' capital has perhaps been even more decisive: As representatives of a 'victorious' system and culture, they have unilaterally been able to define the 'terms' of surrender.

The consequences of such a 'symbolic triumphalism' should be looked into, particularly as it effects the material infrastructure and the human capital of the region. How should the overall policy of 'creative destruction' be assessed and what are the

signs of the constitution of new, indigenous actors?

- 4) Due to the particularity of 'German' history (two totalitarian systems in the same century), the leap into modernity in East Germany is closely related to the question of life biography, memory and morality. This 'socio-psychological' dimension of coping with the past ('Vergangenheitsbewältigung'), plays an inordinately important role, particularly among the political and intellectual elites and thus tends to have a great impact upon public perception of the process of reunification. What kind of criterias are used and how do these compare with a) the post-war Vergangenheitsbewältigung of the Nazi-pasts in the two Germanies and b) the way similar problems are coped with in other Easter European states.
- 5) In no other country has the new system been introduced so consistently and rapidly as in East Germany. At the same time, no country has received such extensive economic assistance in building a modern infrastructure, an extended welfare system, a highly competitive industry, an active labor market policy, a future-oriented system of higher education and research etc. This makes East Germany particularly interesting, if one wants to study the overall effect of moving into an 'autopoietically' organized modern society.

How have the East Germans managed to cope with the 'chaos' which such a model of society rests on? Is there anything from their previous experience they have been able to bring with them and what do the overall future prospects for a democratic and prosperous East German region look like?



Socialist Transformation and Social Change in Eastern Europe and East Asia (JS)



The point of departure of this project is a comparative perspective on the relationship between the private and the public sector in particular how extra-societal groups influence the process of economic policy-making in a post socialist context. Emphasis will be laid upon the so-called double transformation from underdevelopment and planned economy to building various state and market institutions in Vietnam, Laos and China compared with Russia and Eastern Europe.

Monitoring the Development Intervention (HN)

While preparation and implementation of donor-funded interventions in the Third world now has been an important part of the development process during the last 30-40 years, the debate on the rational for these interventions, their possible immediate effects and long-term impacts, and the ways of measuring the results of the interventions has never been as lively as just now. With the termination of the confrontation of the Superpowers and the economic crisis of the industrialized countries, the debate on whether to continue the development assistance at the same level as so far, and how to implement the assistance, is accelerating in most donor countries, including Denmark. The questions of how to measure the results of the interventions thus become crucial.

The project focuses on the theories, systems and practices of the development agencies, and is based upon data and experiences from mainly the Danish International Development Assistance, but includes comparative material from a number of other international donors. Through data-based analysis of 30 years of Danish projects all over the world and case-studies

from Asia and Africa, the policies and practices of this and other donors are studied, and an ideal model for future monitoring is presented.

The concept of monitoring the development interventions by external donors has often been limited to occasional, physical progress reporting by the donor initiated project-organised implementation units during the lifetime of the interventions, i.e. the projects. Today, however, the need to see it as a joint effort between the donor/sponsor, and the recipient, and in particular to design and implement it as an on-going, comprehensive physical and financial process managed by the local institutions beyond the project-periods, is increasingly realised. This approach is in line with the policies of decentralization and sustainability, but on the other hand in conflict with the ideas of donor control.

Decentralisation of Local Development in Africa and Asia (HN)

The new international political situation of the 1990s has caused a diminishing of central powers, whether at the international or national levels. The proliferation of the 'democratic' model includes positive values of deconcentration or devolution of powers and resources from the national centres to the local areas and communities, and at the same time from the supernations to new emerging nations. The process is interwebbed in the sense, that because of the changed political and economic technologies, the transactions and interventions today are not restricted severely by the national policies, but go across the borders and interventions from international organizations or foreign agencies directly to regional or local governments are increasing.

The policies of decentralization have positive as well as negative aspects, but for the local governments the prospects for development are highly accelerated through devolution of powers and resources from the centres. However, local governments with real powers of decision-making and with substantial resources are a new phenomena in most countries, and they are not experienced in dealing with international agencies like e.g. the World Bank. Simultaneously, it is a new situation for international and foreign agencies (often highly centralised themselves) to work in a decentralized environment, as it is for the central, line-ministries.

The research project focuses on the implementation of the decentralisation process, based upon experiences from mainly Bangladesh and Uganda, and the interactions between international, national and local institutions and agencies in this process.

Ref. C. Gender and Ethnicity: Civil Society Revisited

Sustainable Priorities - the Case of Double Rationality (EB)

With point of departure in an understanding of the existing global crisis, the project assumes a need for reorientation of society. In the attempt to formulate alternatives we face an additional problem, namely the break down of traditional norms characteristic of modernity. In other words, we have no clearly defined common value system capable of leading us in questions of politics, culture, technology, etc. or which might serve to facilitate meaningful dialogue within our own culture or between cultures.

The project operates with the hypothesis that within the sphere of close human relations, the symbolically 'female' space, some norms are being reproduced related to human survival through history. These, partly pre-linguistic, embodied values constitute the basis of a normative rationality, different from that of the surrounding society. It constitutes a different and invisible 'cosmology' - a reservoir of alternative thought and practice. The latter emerges as a new synthesis based on 'double rationality', namely the clash between the historical heritage of 'Gemeinschaft', or the sphere of close human relations on the one hand, and the modern rationality of the system world, on the other. The concept of double rationality is developed through a discussion and critique of different themes: the concept of rationality, of time, the culture of care, and the sense of economy.

The project is multipurpose. On the one hand there is an attempt to make visible a normatively based rationality concretely embedded in existing everyday practice: A practically, lived experience. This endeavour is important for our ability to carry out socially acceptable change. This may also contribute to rethink the ongoing ethical debate.

Through a critical discussion of the concept of culture, the project demonstrates the existence of a different, invisible sphere of rationality which forms the basis and precondition of manifest culture, and which to some extent constitutes its anti-thesis.

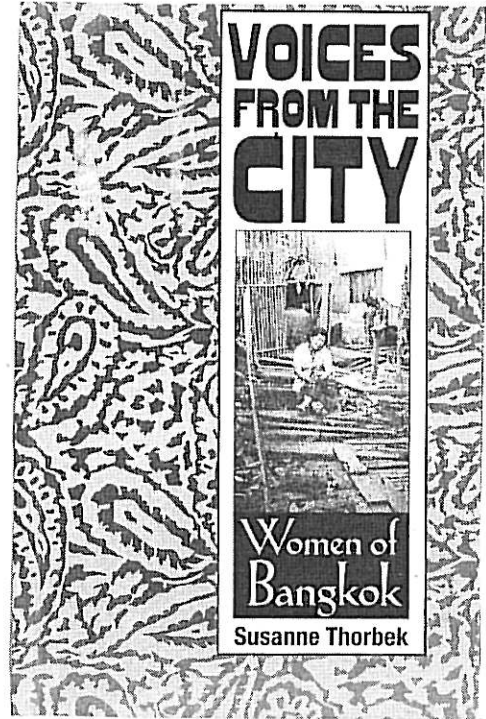
The projects is divided into (1) a theoretical part, (2) an explanatory, discussing part, (3) a practical (value-related, action-oriented) part. The empirical focus is Denmark, in a global context.

Gender and Social Movements (ST)

This research project continues previous work with women and urbanization, especially the part concerned with the impact of the gender dimension on the direction and form of social movements.

Theoretically it springs from two lines of thought:

1. The criticism of science, rationality, which shows the ethnocentricity of most Western thinking, and claims that other kinds of knowledge or other perspectives on the creation of knowledge is central. (R. Young and S. Harding)
2. The theories of a new type of globalization which focus on the changed economic global links, the change in nation states and the erosion of their room of manoeuvre, the Americanization of popular cultural images (notwithstanding Indian and Chinese productions), the global ecological problems and the rising streams of migration. Migrations in the main move from countryside to city and to neighbouring countries although some of the migrants also reach the western countries.



In this situation social movements rise among urban dwellers, often urbanites who have migrated recently and mostly aiming at welfare but also often around ethnic, national or neo-traditional values.

The empirical foundation of this project is a study of how social movements understand themselves, what impact gender has on their selfunderstanding and how men and women perceive women's participation. The majority of such movements must be understood as modern as other expressions of modernity and this raises the epistemological question: How to understand them without subsuming them under ethnocentric categories as similar or positing them as the extreme 'other' - that is, how to understand different urban movements, including their gender dimension without creating contradictory binary categories.

The Fisherfolk Community of the Riverine and Coastal Areas of Bangladesh and India (West Bengal): A Socio-Economic Study (KA)

Working with the fisherfolk community for the last eight years in different development programs, supported by Danish International Development Assistance Agency in Bangladesh and visiting many fishing projects in India, it is evident that most classic cases of technicist thinking took no account of social or even technological realities.

The aim of this project is to analyze the socio-economic conditions of the fisherfolk community in Bangladesh and India (West Bengal) and to formulate policies that would take into consideration the social security and the economic sustenance of these fisherfolk communities. Fishing is one of the oldest occupations in Bangladesh and India. Thousands of people are employed in this occupation. Moreover population pressure and increasing landlessness out of land erosion and poverty caused over supply of layout in agricultural sector and thereby fishing became the alternative source of employment for a majority of poor landless peasants living around the riverine and coastal areas.

The traditional fisherfolk communities around the Bay of Bengal are facing extinction. They are being gradually replaced by a new business class which has entered into this occupation with trawlers, big mechanized fishing boats, sophisticated nets and other modern equipments.

This study will attempt to bring out the socio-economic condition including the history of the fisherfolk communities who inhabit the coastal and riverine areas of the Bay of Bengal. The historical perspective will provide the backbone of the study.

The project will specifically focus on: sources of other income of the fishermen; the equipments they use; the problems in acquiring basic tools of fishing; sources of their finance; their indebtedness to the traditional moneylenders who charge usurious interest rates; problems related to the marketing of the catch; the fisherfolk relationship to the governmental agencies; their declining social status; their changing values; problems related to their housing, health, sanitation, education, etc. This research will further attempt to formulate policies that will take into consideration the social security and the economic sustenance of the fisherfolk community in Bangladesh and India (West Bengal).

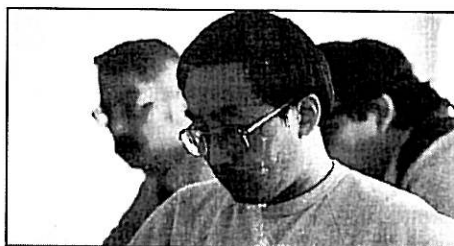
Rationality, Nationalism and Migration in Europe (JS)

In 1989 the air was thick with notions of a new Europe in the making as the East threw off communism and the West celebrated its Cold War victory. After five years this mood of optimism has changed to fear that, because of economic stagnation and explosive demographic trends in the South together with the uncertainty surrounding the transition in both Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, international migrations may resume on a massive scale, exacerbating the unemployment problems in Western Europe and stirring social tensions.

Linked to this scenario, a spectre is haunting Europe' - the spectre of nationalism, re-emerging and attended by a flurry of right-wing extremism and a new kind of supra-nationalism in maturing at the level of the European Union. This research aims to establish a theoretical framework and empirical analysis in order to encapsulate the simultaneous rise of nationalisms at the local as well as the regional level and the manifestations of xenophobia and racism in Western Europe.



Attila Havas fra Budapests økonomiske universitet.



Xiaolin Pei fra Institut for økonomisk historie i Lund.

Asien lærestykke for østeuropæere

Det fri marked ikke sagen, konkluderer konference på AUC

Af Peter Brock

AALBORG: Måske vil landene i Østeuropa være bedre tjent med at kopiere elementer fra de østasiatiske vækstøkonomier end ved at lytte til de ensidige råd om total liberalisering af økonomien, som indtil nu er haglet ned over dem fra Vesten.

Sådan lyder budskabet fra en international konference om Østeuropas udviklingsveje, som er foregået på AUC i denne uge.

For mens lande som Sydkorea og Taiwan har skaffet sig enorm fremgang gennem meget håndfast statsstyring og beskyttelse af egen industri



Johannes D. Schmidt, øst-konferencens koordinator.

mod konkurrence udefra, så forlanger Verdensbanken og andre vestlige rådgivere, at østeuropæerne bare skal give markedet frit og mindske statens rolle så meget som muligt.

- Fra alle sider har der været enighed om, at der vil gå meget, meget lang tid før, EU er parat til at åbne sig for Østeuropa. Foreløbig bliver de ensidigt betragtet som markeder for varer fra Vesten.

Men selv om de vælger »den østasiatiske model« venter der ikke østeuropæerne nogen nem fremtid, for alle søger i disse år at eksportere sig til forøget velstand, og i EU vil der hurtigt blive lukket billige produkter østfra, siger kandidatstipendiat Johannes Schmidt, der har stået som koordinator for det store forskertræf.

De over 100 deltagere kom fra næsten hele Øst- og Centraleuropa samt fra en del asiatiske lande.

For AUC danner de mange kontakter som via konferencen er opnået i Østeuropa og Sydøstasien basis for, at udviklingen i de to regioner kommer til at udgøre et selvstændigt forskningsområde.

Part III Activities, Publications and Organization

PhD Research Training Program 1995-97 (Tentative)

Global and Local Perspectives on Social Change

The global structures are in a process of profound transformation, causing a shift on different levels in the relations between different parts of the world.

In the sphere of production, the transnational corporations link different units of the world and directly or indirectly account for growing shares of output as well as of employment. Sub-contracting and trading in goods and services as well as international financial flows create new types of economic interdependence.

On the political level, globalization causes nation-states to lose their autonomy whereas regional and international organizations grow in importance within decision-making and supervision. At the same time, collective ethnic and national identities are reemerging, new nation-states are created, at times through conflict.

The labor-force seems stable but transnationalization of production and the growing flow of migration from countryside to city, as well as across borders, influence the scope of action of the labor movement and create new work conditions and changes in people's daily lives.

On the cultural level, too, globalization makes itself felt. Here a global monoculture is created through the hegemony of English-American news-media, the electronic media distributing only slightly adapted entertainment, taking their standards principally from the English-American codes in news, information, and culture.

The intensification of globalization thus raises important issues for the social sciences, transcending former theories and concepts. Challenges to the social sciences can be found on societal and cultural levels. Most mainstream paradigms have developed on the basis of Eurocentrist, male-dominated perspectives. Women have been underrepresented in this evolution and the claim was made that women's experience and knowledge were either not taken sufficiently into account or ignored in the formulation of problems and theories. The same argument has been raised in connection with non-European cultures in general. In later

decades, women just like representatives of people formerly made the object of anthropological study, are becoming increasingly vocal, suggesting new paradigmatic approaches to the analysis of global structures.

The structure of the PhD courses

This series of PhD courses aims at presenting a multidisciplinary approach on the socio-cultural and the political-economic perspectives on globalization, localization and social change.

The challenges, as outlined, will be taken up by combining the global structural analysis - aiming at understanding the international structures as a whole - with perspectives arising from the periphery, from local levels, from movements, neighborhoods, and from research which base analysis on the perspective from 'outsiders within'.

A course on method and methodology will run on the basis of one session in each semester. Different ways of approaching the global system, its impact on local levels and alternative ways of perception will be the topics. PhD students will be invited to present their work, get comments and engage in discussions between students and academic staff. Moreover, PhD students' own problem-formulations will be discussed. The aim of the seminars is to integrate new knowledge and methods into the work of the students.

Tentative outline of Courses 1995-97

1. Culturalization and Globalization. Theory and Methodology

Lecturers: Edward Said, Samir Amin, A.G. Frank.

Resource persons: Ellen Brun, Susanne Thorbek, Jacques Hersh.

2. A New Global System in the Making

Lecturers: Stuart Hall, Peter Dicken, Susan Strange, Keith Sissan, John Storey.

Resource persons: Jacques Hersh, Susanne Thorbek, Peter Wad.

3. Urbanization and the City: Everyday Life, Identities and Movements

Lecturers: Ulf Hannerz, Manuel Castells, Joseph Gugler, Caroline Moser.

Resource persons: Susanne Thorbek, Johannes Schmidt, Ann Shlytter.

4. Gender, Migration, Ethnicity, Nationality and Hybrid Cultures

Lecturers: Ivan van Sertima, Robin Horton, Poul Gilroy, Vron Ware.

Resource persons: Feiwel Kupferberg, Susanne Thorbek, Uli Pinkert.

5. Regionalism and Multi-polarity in the World System

Lecturers: Dieter Senghas, Giovanni Arrighi, Jessica Drangel and Peter Evans.

Resource persons: Jacques Hersh, Johannes Schmidt and Peter Wad.

6. Rationality, Objectivity, Ethnocentrism, Androcentrism and Discourse

Lecturers: Sandra Harding, Vandana Shiva, Stuart Hall, Anthony Giddens, Ernesto Laclau.

Resource persons: Hans Gullestrup, Jacques Hersh, Susanne Thorbek.



Networking and External Research Collaboration:

Contacts within our professional circle

In Denmark and the Nordic Countries DIR mainly has contacts to the International Development Studies at Roskilde University Centre, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies at Copenhagen University and the Nordic associations for South Asian Studies (India, Bangladesh, etc.) Southeast Asian Research (ASEAN and Indochina) and East Asian Research (Japan, Korea). The research centre is represented in the board of the Group of Development Researchers in Denmark which is a member of the European Association of Development Research Institutes (EADI).

DIR has developed contacts with a large number of networks and members of various professional and academic associations.

Research network on Intercultural Communication, CSIS, Aalborg University

The Danish Association of Development Researchers

The Association for Women's and Gender Research

The Danish Ecological Association

Centre for Development Research, Copenhagen

Nordic Research Network: Resourcemanagement and Energy on Women's Terms

Nordic Network for International Development Studies, Roskilde

Nordic Institute for African Studies, Uppsala.

Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen

Nordic Association for China Studies

Nordic Association for Middle Eastern Studies

Nordic Association for South Asian Studies

Nordic Association for Southeast Asian Studies

Nordic Association for Japanese and Korean Studies

Nordic Association for Eastern European Studies

Association for Asian Studies

EUROSEAS (European Association for South-East Asian Studies)

European Network for Bangladesh Studies, Bath University

Center for fred- og konfliktforskning (Centre for Peace and Conflict Research)

European Small & Medium Business Association, Amsterdam

IPRA (International Peace Research Association)

Dansk sociologforening (Denmark's Sociological Association)
EADI (European Association of Development Institutes)
Berliner Institut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien, Berlin
Svenska sociologförbundet (Sociological Association of Sweden)
Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Sussex
State and Society in East Asia Network

University collaboration:

Chittagong University, Bangladesh
Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok
Thanmasat University, Bangkok
Hanoi University, Hanoi
Kuyngnam University, Seoul
University of Gothenburg, PADRIGU
Lund University, Department of Economic History
Murdoch University, Asia Research Centre



Conferences, Seminars and Lectures

Research Seminar November, 12-13 1992

Local Community Development Around the Bay of Bengal: Context, Crises and Perspectives.

This seminar discussed two basic issues (the natural and the political economy environment) and their implications through presentation by the participants of cases related to the local communities around the Bay of Bengal, and through introductions given by lecturers with relevant experiences. The last part of the seminar in particular focused on the research methods to be applied for the study of the local communities.

- Convenors: Senior Lecturer Henrik A. Nielsen, DDP, Aalborg University
Research Fellow Neil Webster, CDR, and Centre for Development Research
Professor Hans Gullestrup, DDP, Aalborg University.
- Lecturers: Research Fellow. Dr. Martin Greeley, IDS, Sussex University
Parmesh Shah, IDS, Sussex University.

Papers Presented

- 1) *'Choice of Technology in Relation with Societal and Cultural Conditions of Local Community'*, Bashir Ahmad, Aalborg University.
- 2) *'Socio-Economic Study of the Fisherfolk Community of Bangladesh and India'*, Khursid Alam, Aalborg University.
- 3) *'Cultural Aspects of Perception and Practises Concerning Fisheries Resources and Their Conservation Among Smallscale Fishermen in Bangladesh'*, Eva Skagerstam, Lund University.
- 4) *'Evaluating Social Consequences of Social Changes in the Third World Countries'*, Hans Gullestrup, Aalborg University.
- 5) *'Literacy and Literatures as Political Means Among the Santal of India'*, Peter B. Andersen, Copenhagen University.
- 6) *'Fishing in Karnataka and Forest Laws in India'*, Stig Toft Madsen, Lund University.
- 7) *'Introduction of Smallscale Windmills in Sundarbans of West Bengal'*, Frants Christensen, Aalborg University.

EAST EUROPE: BETWEEN WESTERN EUROPE AND EAST ASIA



Conference
May 19 - 21, 1994
Aalborg University, Denmark

**List of papers presented at the Conference on
East Europe: Between Western Europe and East Asia,
Aalborg University May 19 - 21, 1994**

Name:	Abstract:	University:
Babaeva, Lilia V.	Models of Russia's Future	Russian Academy of Sciences Inst. of Sociology
Bella, Dusan	Sustainability and Technology Change	Dept. of International Economic Cooperation, Bratislava
Brun, Ellen	Creating Sustainability from below - A woman's perspective	Aalborg University
Cermakova, Marie	Czech Society: New Ways of Social Distribution and its Acceptance	Academy of Sciences of Czech Republic, Inst. of Sociology
Chirathivat, Sut- hiphand	Joint Paper on 'Trade and Industrialisation Policy: Lessons from East Asia' (see also Paiton Wiboonkutikula)	Chulalongkorn University, Thailand Fac. of Economics
Clark, Woodrow	The Defense Conversion of the American Economy: some Lessons	Aalborg University/California
Cunningham, Peter	The Re-affirmation of State Socialism: The South African Dedate	Port Elizabeth, South Africa
Dumitrescu, Alina- Ligia	Social Protection-Priority of Reforms in Romania	Inst. of World Economy, Bucharest,
Dumitrescu, Anca	The Impact of Privatization on Nowadays Romanian Economy	Romanian Inst. for Educational Sciences
Emmerij, Louis	Eastern Europe in a Developmental Perspective	Inter-American Development Bank
Fleischhacker, Jo- chen,	The Birth Decline in East Germany.	Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Fachbereich Sozialwissenschaften.
Foti, Klara	Labour Market Aspects of Transition in Eastern Europe (A Comparison between five Countries)	Inst. for World Economics, Budapest
Francevic, Vojmir	The Economic vs. Political good Trade off in East Europe: Problems of Accumulation and Legitimation in Achieving Market Society and Economic Growth	Zagreb University, Fac. of Economics
Frank, Andre Gunder	New World Order? Or Same Old Disorder	University of Amsterdam Inst. for Development Research,
Gechev, Rumen	Foreign Capital Investment in Bulgaria	University of National and World Economy, Sofia
Gruszczak, Artur	Obstacles to Democratic Consolidation in East-Central Europe and Threats to Regional Security	Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Inst. of Political Science
Guan-Fu, Gu	Ethnic Conflicts and International Security after the Cold War	China Inst. of Contemporary International Relations
Gunnarsson, Christer	Agrarian Structures, Property Rights and Transition to Market Economy in China and the former Soviet Union (see also Xiaolin Pei)	Lund University Dept. of Economic History
Havas, Attila	CMEA and COMECON Abolished: Re-structuring Precision Engineering Industry in Hungary	University of Economics IKU, Innovation Research Centre, Budapest
Hettne, Bjørn	The New Regionalism as a Road to Multilateralism: A Neo-mercantilist Approach to Conflict Resolution	Göteborg University, PADRI-GU

Name:	Abstract:	University:
Inzelt, Annamária	Technological Change in the Eastern European Transformation Process	Budapest University, Institute of Economics
Jasinski, Leszek	The Economic Recession and Rebirth in Eastern Europe as Elements of the Transformation Process	Foreign Trade Research Inst., Warszawa
Jørgensen, Andreas	The Western European Agenda in Eastern Europe	University Centre of South Jutland
Karpati, Zoltan	Between two Elections: Social and Political Overview of Hungary	Conflict Research Centre, HAS, Budapest
Kavunenko, Lidiya	Scientific and Technological Potential in Ukraine during the Transition Period	Dobrov Centre for S & T Potential & Science History Studies, Ukraine
Kisiel-Lowczyc, Anna	Some Aspects of Unemployment in Transition in Poland	University of Gdansk Inst. of Foreign Trade
Knudsen, Herman	Industrial Relations: The Danish Model for Workers Participation in Management Decisions	Aalborg University
Kong, Tianping	The East Asian Model as an Emulated Model for East Europe!	Inst. of East European, Russian and Central Asian Studies, Beijing
Kopperschmidt, Andri	The Economic Relations Between the European Union and the Russian Federation	Stiepler Str. 71-A-318, Bochum
Krasteva, Anna	Information Technologies and Power: Western Models and Eastern Realities	Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Inst. of Philosophy
Larsen, Øyvind	Grundtvig and the Democratic Culture in Denmark	Aalborg University
Lawniczak, Ryszard	Lessons from South Korea's Development for the Transformation of the Polish Economy	Poznan University of Economics
Lemaitre, Pierre	The Feasibility of a New Marshall-Cum-Fulbright Plan?	Marshall-Cum-Fulbright Project
Lengyel, György	Social Consequences of Transformation: The Spread of Entrepreneurship	BUES, Dept. of Sociology, Budapest
Lorentzen, Anne	Technological Innovation in Hungarian Industry - is there a Way	Aalborg University
Mihaylova, Larissa	Hard Truth about Developing new Technologies in Russia	Moscow State University Dept. of Journalism
Monkiewicz, Jan	Technological Development in a Period of Systemic Transformation: The Polish Experience	Office of the Council of Ministers, Warsaw, Poland
Nove, Alec	The Role of the Public Sector: A Critique of Libertarianism	Glasgow University, Dept. of Political Economy
Ostrovskaya, Ilze	The State and the Civil Society: Priorities During the First Stage of the Transition	University of Latvia, Dept. of Sociology
Pascal, Despina	The Role of Small and Medium Enterprises and Foreign Investment in the Redevelopment of the Romanian Business Environment	Centre for Political Studies and Comparative Analysis, Bucharest
Pei, Xiaolin	Agrarian Structures, Property Rights and Transition to Market Economy in China and the former Soviet Union (see also Christer Gunnarsson)	Lund University, Dept. of Economic History
Plávková, Olga	The New European Public Opinion on Defence Issues: The Case of Slovakia in the Context of Europe	Dept. of Public Affairs - Research Group for Public Opinion, Slovakia

Name:	Abstract:	University:
Prikulis, Juris	Foreign Investment in the Baltic States: Problems and Prospects	Centre of Baltic-Nordic History and Political Studies, Riga
Prodanov, Vassil	The Bulgarian Model of Transition: Between Western Europe and East Asia	Inst. of Philosophical Sciences, Sofia
Rana, Pradumna B.	The Role of the State in the Transitional Economies of Asia: Lessons for Eastern Europe	Asian Development Bank
Ronnås, Per	Economic Diversification and Growth in Rural China: An Anatomy of a 'Socialist' Success Story	Stockholm School of Economics, Dept. of International Economics and Geography
Rostgaard, Marianne	The Role of Work Organization and Labour Market Institutions in Creating Social Dynamics of Technological Change	Aalborg University
Rusinova, Nina	The Social Organization of Health Care in a Changing Russia	Inst. of Sociology, St. Petersburg
Saganenko, Galina	Changes in Russia: The Dynamics of Estimation and Expectations of the Intelligencia in St. Petersburg	Inst. of Sociology, St. Petersburg
Sarkar, Prabirjit	South-South Co-operation or Non-cooperation in the New International Order	Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta
Savelieva, Tatiana	Social Consequences of Socio-political Transformation in Russia: the Process of Social Stratification	Inst. of Oriental Studies, Moscow
Schmidt, Johannes D.	Transformation and Strategy. Preliminary Comparisons Between East Asia and Eastern Europe	Aalborg University
Sivertseva, Tamara	Social Transformation in Muslim Regions of the EX-SU (Field Experience of the Caucasus and Central Asia)	Inst. of Oriental Studies, Moscow
Shi, Shiwei	Economic Reform as a Strategy for Development. The Special Path of Economic Transition in the People's Republic of China	University of Postdam, Fac. of Economic and Social Science
Terk, Erik	East Asian Type of Structural Policy, is it possible in East Europe? The Case of Estonia	Estonian Inst. of Future Studies
Tsepilova, Olga	The Social Consequences of the Transition to Capitalism: Environmental Aspects (Russian Case)	Inst. of Sociology, St. Petersburg
Vares, Peeter	The Baltic States in the European Union (Case of Estonia)	Inst. of Philosophy, Sociology and Law, Tallinn
Wade, Robert	Reforms in Eastern Europe: Lessons from the East Asian Model	IDS University of Sussex
Wiboonchutikula, Paitoon	Joint Paper on 'Trade and Industrialization Policy: Lessons from East Asia' (see also Chirathivat Suthiphand)	Chulalongkorn University Faculty of Economics, Thailand
Wysokinska, Zofia	Implications of East and Central European Countries Transformation Process into Market Economy and their Integration with the EC on Foreign Trade - and Foreign Direct Investment Strategy	University of Lodz Inst. of Economics
Xiaozhong, Zhu	Foreign Trade of Eastern Europe in Transition	Inst. of East European, Russian and Central Asian Studies, Beijing
Aage, Hans	Sustainable Transition in the Former Soviet Union	Roskilde University

**List of papers presented at the Conference on
Emerging Classes and Growing Inequalities in Southeast Asia
at Gl. Vraa Slot, September 23 - 25, 1994**

Name	Institute/ Country	Title of Paper
Bøcher, Anne Karen (and Skovsgaard, Anne Marie)	Institute of Geography, Copenhagen University, Denmark	Female Factory Workers in the Modern Patriarchy of Malaysia
Drakakis-Smith, David	Geography Department, University of Keele, Great Britain	Human Resource Manage- ment, Ethnicity and Class in Singapore
Fold, Niels (and Wangel, Arne)	Institute of Geography, Copenhagen University, Denmark	Class Structure, Labour Insti- tutions and Domestic Market Demand in Malaysia: Implica- tions for Regulation Theory
Hersh, Jacques	Department of Development and Planning, Aalborg University, Denmark	The Role of the US as a Factor in the Rise of East Asia
Jin, Ye	Department of Economics and Planning, Roskil- de University Centre, Denmark	Globalization and Industrial Restructuring and the Rise of the New Social Stratification in Southeast Asia
Kahn, Joel S.	La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria, Au- stralia	New Class Contradictions Between the Urban and Rural Context in Southeast Asia
Kettunen, Erja	Helsinki School of Economics, Finland	Economic Growth and Inte- gration of the ASEAN Coun- tries: Growth Poles Within the Regional Economy
Lindahl, Jakob (and Thomsen, Lotte)	Institute of Geography, Copenhagen University, Denmark	Ethnic and Social Inequalities among Chinese Women in Malaysia
Lindgreen, Göran	Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden	Comparing Economic Growth. A Regression Analysis of Thailand and the Philippines 1950-1990
Mulder, Niels	Amsterdam, Holland	The Culture of the Public Sphere of the New Urban Middle Class in the Philippi- nes
Nørlund, Irene	Nordic Institute for Asian Studies, Copenhagen, Denmark	The Labour Regime in Viet- nam
Robison, Richard	Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Western Australia	The Emergence of the Middle Class in Southeast Asia
Schmidt, Johannes D.	Department of Development and Planning, Aalborg University, Denmark	State Capacities in Southeast Asia: Creating Growth Wit- hout Welfare
Siriprachai, Som- boon	Department of Economic History, Lund Uni- versity, Sweden	Problems in the Industrializa- tion Process in Thailand 1932-1993

Name	Institute/ Country	Title of Paper
Skovsgaard, Anne Marie (and Bøcher, Anne Karen)	Institute of Geography, Copenhagen University, Denmark	Female Factory Workers in the Modern Patriarchy of Malaysia
Thomsen, Lotte (and Lindahl, Jacob)	Institute of Geography, Copenhagen University, Denmark	Ethnic and Social Inequalities among Chinese Women in Malaysia
Thorbek, Susanne	Department of Development and Planning, Aalborg University, Denmark	Women in Slum Organiza- tions - Does it Make a Dif- ference?
Tjelland, Rune	International Peace Research Institute, PRIO, Oslo, Norway	The Fear of Politics - Rural Mobilization in Northeast Thailand
Wangel, Arne (and Fold, Niels)	School of Social Sciences, USM Malaysia/Insti- tute of Geography, Copenhagen University, Denmark	Class Structure, Labour Insti- tutions and Domestic Market Demand in Malaysia: Implica- tions for Regulation Theory
Xing, Li	Department of Development and Planning, Aalborg University, Denmark	An Asian Model of Develop- ment and Democracy?
Örnberg, Lena	Department of Economic History, Lund Uni- versity, Sweden	Contract Farming of Potatoes and Tomatoes in Northern Thailand

**Emerging Classes and
Growing Inequalities
in Southeast Asia**



Conference jointly organized by
NASEAS and Dept. of Development
and Planning, Aalborg University
Venue: Gl. Vraa Slot 23-25 September 1994

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Selected Publicationlist by Researchers affiliated with DIR

Margrethe Holm Andersen:

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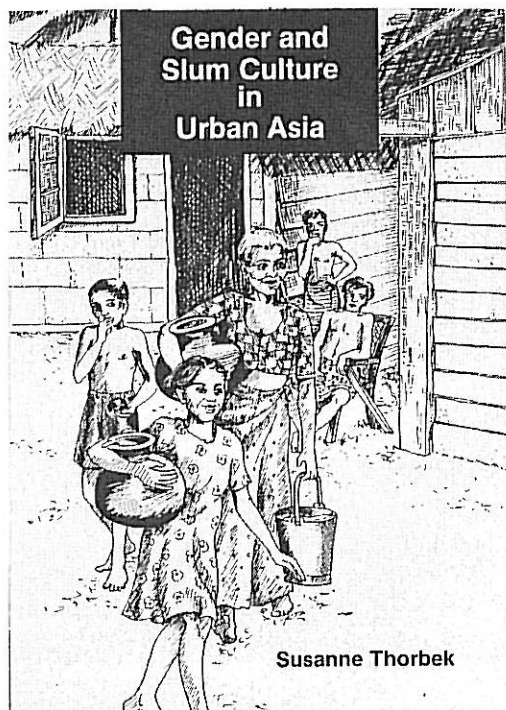
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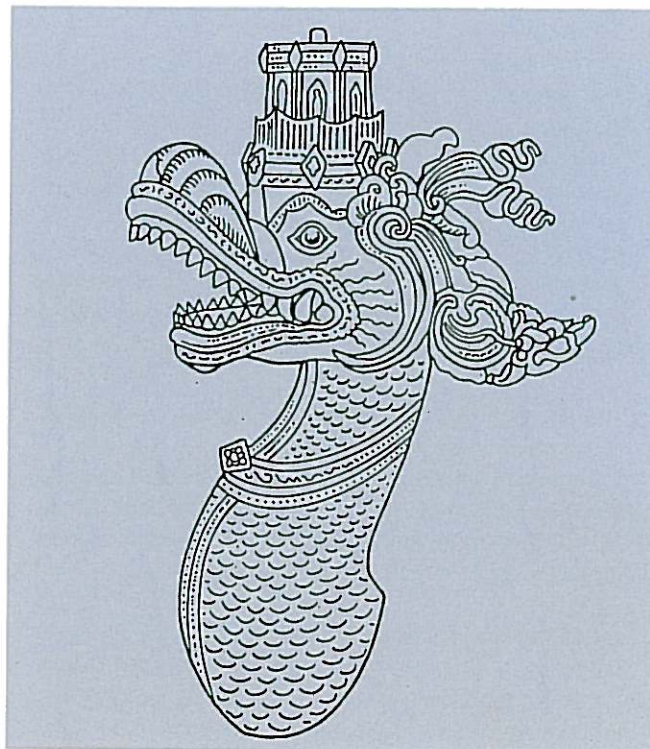
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Appendix I

Summary Evaluation of Research Program 1991-1994

Objective:

The background for the research effort is the awareness of the existing disharmony at the global level between a rich and a poor part. The Third World which comprises 80 percent of the world's population is in perpetual unrest and demanding to be taken seriously. While political elites negotiate with the advanced capitalist countries social processes are taking place within developing nations affecting the stability of these socio-economic and political formations. From a social sciences' perspective it is of significance to grasp these processes in order to contribute to a better understanding of the North-South divide.

The research activities originates in the teaching and research environment of social sciences at Aalborg University, especially the Diploma course on International Studies and International Development (also offered under the auspices of Open University) as well as joint studies with other scientific disciplines. A central element of the teaching and research program is contact to foreign professional circles working on Europe and Asia. The program includes studies, field work and project evaluation.

Research Completed in the Period 1991-1994:

Gender, Politics and Development in the Third World (MHA)

This research project took its point of departure in a gender theoretical approach to analyze politics and development in the Tanzanian country-side. Through a field-study, an investigation of the role of women in Sukumaland was made with a central focus on active participation in politics.

Soviet-Third World Relations in a Capitalist World (JH + EB)

From a historical, theoretical and economic approach the attempt is made to analyze forces at work in the Soviet reintegration in the international division of labor. The study focuses on the implications for the former colonial world of Soviet efforts to catch-up.

The study includes an analysis of the forces and contradictions which led to the collapse of the USSR.

Nationalism and State-building in India (TH) (In progress)

New Centre-nation Alliances in East Asia (JH)

From an international political economy approach, the attempt is made to place the evolution of East Asia in relation to the hegemonic position and role of the United States in the post-Cold War II system.

Focusing on the economic rearmament of Japan and the United States, contributed to the take-off of East Asia. In this process of catching-up the complementarity of US-Japanese ties was replaced by a situation of competition, the consequences of which are still not entirely materialized.

Economic Policies in the ASEAN-4 (JS)

This study has focused on the interaction between the influence of internal and external factors and institutions on economic policy-making in the ASEAN-4. It found that, on the one hand, policy-makers have achieved a relative level of autonomy from the domestic forces but are still far behind when it comes to the role of international institutions as the World Bank, IMF, transnational companies and core countries. On the other hand, when the level of autonomy is compared with the NICs, Korea and Taiwan, the level of dependency on external forces and the concomitant sustainability of the high growth strategies are highly vulnerable due to a number of factors.

The research project is expected to be completed in 1995 and the result will be published in a major work. The preliminary results have been based on a 9 months field study in Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines where 40 policy-makers, planners and representatives from the domestic and foreign business community were interviewed.

The research has resulted in the publication of 7 working-papers, 6 conference presentations including papers, and a number of articles and books. (See publication list)

Gender and Urbanization in the Third World (ST)

Through a sociological analysis of modernization of cities in Southeast Asia the attempt was made to analyze the situation of women in slum areas in Bangkok and Colombo. Through field work the emphasis was given to women inhabitants of the slums to relate to their own situation affecting the family patterns.

Monitoring and Surveillance of Aid Projects of the Development Process Agency, DANIDA (HN)

The project has established a data-base of Danish aid projects in the years 1962-91. This study pioneered a reevaluation of assistance programs and continues during the research program period with a qualitative design.

Seminars and Conferences

One seminar and two conferences were arranged by the research group:

- 1) Development of the Coastal Areas of India and Bangladesh.
- 2) East Europe: Between Western Europe and East Asia.
- 3) Emerging Classes and Growing Inequalities in Southeast Asia.

List of papers presented at the seminar and conferences are available at pp.49-55. In the following a brief review of each is presented.

100 participants attended an international conference arranged by DIR and held at Aalborg University between 18-21 May 1994. The title of the conference was **East Europe: Between Western Europe and East Asia**. 65 papers and 8 keynote lectures were held divided between 4 panels where participants presented their own work. The conference examined the transformation process of the new European capitalist economies from a the following perspectives: Panel 1: The question of international security after the demise of state socialism; Panel 2: The social consequences of the transition to capitalism: The impact of new technology and capital investment in Eastern Europe. Panel 3: The role of the state in the East asian model - lessons for Eastern Europe. Panel 4: Europe's strategy in the world economy:

Free trade or protectionism. The invited speakers included Andre Gunder Frank, University of Amsterdam, Alec Nove, Glasgow University, Robert Wade, Sussex University, Louis Emmerij, Inter-American Development Bank and a number of distinguished scholars from the Nordic countries.

40 participants attended the 11th conference jointly organized by the Nordic Association of Southeast Asian Studies and the Department of Development and Planning - DIR - Aalborg University were held at Gl. Vraa Slot 23-25 September 1994. The title was **Emerging Classes and Growing Inequalities in Southeast Asia**. 21 papers divided between 4 major panels presented a variety of issues relating to the general theme of the conference. The two keynote lectures were delivered by Dr. Joel Kahn, La Trobe University and Dr. Richard Robison, Murdoch University.

Furthermore DIR researchers presented papers at a large number of seminars and conferences abroad and in the Nordic countries. For a selective overview of conference papers please consult the Development Research Working Paper list.



Appendix II

Organization and Affiliated Researchers

Organization:

The researchers attached to the program belong to DIR under the Dept. of Development and Planning, Aalborg University. The researchers are employed by the Social Science Faculty of Aalborg University.

Connection to teaching and Open University

The research group has teaching responsibility for the International Year (International Study Program) and International Development under the Open University (corresponding to the theory term of International Year). In 1992/93, 40 respectively 30 students were active. In addition to this the staff are teaching international relations theory at various levels from first semester to PhD level.

Together with the Center for International Studies, the International Business Studies, International Technology Planning and European Studies Unit the Research Centre constitutes the International Studies program at Aalborg University.

Presentation of the secretarial staff

Ellen Nyrup Pedersen (ENP) has been with DIR since 1982 as a research secretary. The secretarial responsibility is related to supervizing publications, editing and coordinating the activities of DIR.

Annette Juul Madsen (AJM) has been with DIR since 1994 as a research assistant secretary. During this time AJM coordinated the two conferences the DIR group initiated besides the functions of secretarial activities.

Affiliated Researchers:	Title:	Areas of Interest/Fields of Specialization
Jacques Hersh (JH)	Professor, Dr. Scient. Soc.	International Political Economy and Development
Ellen Brun (EB)	Professor, Dr. Scient. Soc.	Gender and Development
Susanne Thorbek (ST)	Professor, Dr. Phil. Soc.	Gender and Urbanization in Africa and Asia
Feiwei Kupferberg (FK)	Professor in Sociology	Transformations in Eastern Europe /Ethnic Conflicts
Henrik Nielsen (HN)	Professor in Social Science	Rural and Human Development
Johannes Dragsbæk Schmidt (JS)	Research Fellow Sociologist	International Political Economy and Social Change
Hans Gullestrup (HG)	Professor, PhD	Intercultural Relations and Cross Cultural Technology Development
Li Xing (LX)	Research Fellow, Linguist and International Studies	Political Economy and Integration in China and East Asia
Thomas Blom Hansen (TBH)*	Research Fellow, Sociologist	Political Culture and Nationalism in India
Margrethe Holm Andersen (MHA)*	Research Fellow, Ph.D	Feminism and Gender in Developing Countries

* No longer affiliated

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Crisis: Dangers and Opportunities